1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 221 [434] The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 [813] Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing.

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudōki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction.

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain.

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school.

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later.

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length.

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land.

## 6

## Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 593 A64 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in [178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness. [159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.16

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they [1410] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption [834] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old woman feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been [868] purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

● 868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

 868 ●

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

## TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a par-
857 ent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea,
243 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While
[264] rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around
283 the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope.
[526] If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air.

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away.

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old, "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said.

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They

868 296 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

## IMITATIVE PLAY

857 524 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts, "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira



calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store."

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval.

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he • 868 spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail

## SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the 593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him 861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her 857 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts 593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A [152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level • during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

## CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play. Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not o' the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

• In case of death the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
857 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by your-
self? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical ac-
tivities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
● 868 in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper tech-
niques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situa-
tion and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village with-
out trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.